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INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DS-00
	EB-01	OIGO-01	H-01	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16
	JUSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02
	OIG-04	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00
	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00
	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/056R

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY

INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 323633

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PREF, PHUM, EAID, US, RW

SUBJECT: TWAGIRAMUNGU, AF DISCUSS HELP FOR RWANDA

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. IN A NOVEMBER 30 MEETING WITH A/S MOOSE AND
DAS BUSHNELL, RWANDAN PRIME MINISTER FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU
REAFFIRMED THE GOR'S COMMITMENT TO REFUGEE RETURN AND
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RECONCILIATION. HE ASKED FOR AID TO HELP UPHOLD THESE

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COMMITMENTS AND REITERATED THAT THE GOR AGREES TO FREE ACCESS FOR UNAMIR AND HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS, FULL COOPERATION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL, AND THE NAMING OF A HUMAN RIGHTS COORDINATOR. HE ALSO PROMISED THE GOR WOULD GRANT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY TO UNAMIR RADIO. A/S MOOSE REAFFIRMED OUR INTENTION TO ASSIST THE GOR IN CREATING CONDITIONS THAT WOULD FAVOR REFUGEE RETURN. TWAGIRAMUNGU STRESSED THAT THE REFUGEE HOSTING COUNTRIES HAD RESPONSIBILITY FOR ASSURING SECURITY IN THE CAMPS, AND A/S MOOSE OUTLINED CURRENT THINKING ON THE CAMP SECURITY ISSUE.

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DAS BUSHNELL NOTED THE FEAR FELT BY MANY RWANDANS AND STRESSED THE NEED TO ADDRESS THIS PROBLEM SO THAT RWANDANS BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY WILL BE WILLING TO COME FORWARD AND ENGAGE IN A MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE WITH THE GOR. END SUMMARY

3. TWAGIRAMUNGU, IN WASHINGTON FOR WORLD BANK MEETINGS, MET WITH A/S MOOSE AND DAS BUSHNELL ON NOVEMBER 30. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS DIVISION DIRECTOR DIOGENE NDAZIGARUYE AND RWANDAN CHARGE JOSEPH MUTABOBA. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER AND RWANDA DESKOFF AISTON ALSO ATTENDED. IN A SEPARATE MEETING THE FOLLOWING DAY, TWAGIRAMUNGU MET WITH DAS BUSHNELL AND DESKOFF AISTON, WITH CHARGE MUTABOBA ATTENDING FOR PART OF THE MEETING. WHILE IN WASHINGTON, TWAGIRAMUNGU ALSO MET WITH U/S

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TARNOFF, A/S BENNET AND PRM AND DRL REPRESENTATIVES, AND
AID ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD (SEPTELS).

AID TO GOR AND GOR COMMITMENTS

4. A/S MOOSE REAFFIRMED OUR INTENTION TO DO WHAT WE COULD TO HELP RWANDA IN THIS TRANSITION PHASE AND REITERATED THAT HE SAW A CHANCE TO CHANGE THE DYNAMICS AND CREATE

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CIRCUMSTANCES THAT WOULD BREAK THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WAS WORKING TO MAKE THE BEST USE OF UNAMIR, THE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS, AND THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL, AND THE USG WAS TRYING TO ASSIST THE GOR THROUGH ITS BILATERAL AID. IN TURN, THE GOR HAD ITS RESPONSIBILITIES TO PURSUE RECONCILIATION AND TAKE ACTIONS THAT WILL CREATE CIRCUMSTANCES FAVORING RETURN OF THE REFUGEES.

5. TWAGIRAMUNGU EXPRESSED HIS DEEP GRATITUDE FOR THE MASSIVE U.S. HUMANITARIAN AID EFFORT AND SAID HE KNEW IN THE END THE LEADERSHIP ROLE WOULD FALL TO THE U.S., GIVEN ITS POSITION IN THE WORLD. HE SAID THE GOR KNEW IT HAD TO ASSUME ITS GOVERNANCE RESPONSIBILITIES, BUT SAID IT COULD NOT DO SO WITHOUT THE NECESSARY RESOURCES. HE ASSURED A/S MOOSE THAT THE GOR WILL COOPERATE WITH THE UN AND RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS. IN THIS REGARD, HE SAID:

- UNAMIR WILL HAVE FREE ACCESS THROUGHOUT RWANDA;
 - THE GOR WILL COOPERATE FULLY WITH THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL;
 - LOCAL PROSECUTIONS WILL FOLLOW THE LAW AND THE GOR
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WILL ALLOW OBSERVERS TO BE PRESENT;

- THE GOR WELCOMES DEPLOYMENT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS

MONITORS;

- THE GOR IS SETTING UP A DIVISION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE JUSTICE MINISTRY, AND ON DEC. 2' WHEN THE CABINET MEETS, THE GOR WILL APPOINT A CAPABLE HEAD OF THIS NEW DIVISION TO COORDINATE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES.

6. THE PRIME MINISTER NOTED COMPLAINTS ABOUT INSECURITY INSIDE RWANDA BUT SAID THE GOR LACKED THE RESOURCES TO SET UP THE NECESSARY LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND POLICE PRESENCE TO ASSURE SECURITY. HE ADMITTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN SOME REPRISALS, BUT SAID THE RPA WAS AN ARMY OF LIBERATION THAT HAD NEVER WORKED UNDER A GOVERNMENT BEFORE. CONDITIONS SHOULD IMPROVE WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EFFECTIVE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION, BUT THIS WILL REQUIRE MONEY.

7. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THE GOR WAS COUNTING ON USAID AND

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U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE UPCOMING UNDP ROUNDTABLE. HE THOUGHT THE WORLD BANK STILL NEEDED TO RAISE DOLLARS 3.5 MILLION TO PAY OFF RWANDA'S ARREARS AND ASKED THE U.S. TO USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH OTHER DONORS SO THAT THE GOR CAN BENEFIT FROM THE WORLD BANK EMERGENCY CREDIT. A/S MOOSE SAID WE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE BANK NOW HAD COMMITMENTS TOTALLING DOLLARS 9 MILLION AND INTERESTED DONORS WERE WILLING TO LOOK AT CONTRIBUTING THE REMAINING DOLLARS 500,000. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER CITED THE DUTCH AND SWISS AND DAS BUSHNELL SAID WE UNDERSTOOD THE BANK WAS OPTIMISTIC IT WOULD HAVE THE NECESSARY COMMITMENTS BY THE END OF THE YEAR. A/S MOOSE SAID WE WOULD PUSH FOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND ENCOURAGE

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THE BANK TO MOVE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE TO MAKE THE CREDIT AVAILABLE.

8. THE PRIME MINISTER (A HUTU) SAID HE WAS BOTHERED BY STATEMENTS FROM THE FRENCH INSISTING THAT THE GOR NEEDED TO BRING HUTUS INTO THE GOVERNMENT, AS IF THERE WERE NO HUTUS IN THE GOR OR IN RWANDA. THIS, OF COURSE, WAS NOT THE CASE. HE ADDED THAT FOCUSING ON ETHNICITY IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE GOAL OF RECONCILIATION. HE WANTS EVERYONE TO BE VIEWED AS ONE PEOPLE - RWANDANS. HE NOTED THAT THE GOR WAS IN THE PROCESS OF INTEGRATING 2000 EX-FAR TROOPS INTO THE RPA AND CATEGORICALLY REJECTED THE NOTION OF A "TUTSILAND," SAYING THAT THE GOR WOULD NOT TOLERATE SUCH A POLICY.

LAND TENURE

9. TURNING TO THE SENSITIVE ISSUE OF LAND TENURE,

TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THERE WERE THREE CATEGORIES OF RETURNEE SQUATTERS: WEALTHY RETURNEES WHO COULD BUILD THEIR OWN HOUSES (AFTER BEING GIVEN A PLOT OF LAND), RETURNEES WITH EMPLOYABLE SKILLS WHO COULD GET LOANS TO BUILD HOUSES (AGAIN, AFTER RECEIVING LAND), AND THE POOR PEASANT CLASS, WHO PRESENT THE BIGGEST PROBLEM. THESE PEOPLE CAN'T JUST BE KICKED OFF THE PROPERTY AND LEFT HOMELESS, PARTICULARLY

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AFTER THE GOR ENCOURAGED THEM TO RETURN. WHAT COULD BE
DONE? TWAGIRAMUNGU HAD NO ANSWER. HE ASKED FOR HELP AND
SAID THE GOR SHARED OUR OBJECTIVE OF AVOIDING THE VIOLENCE
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THAT LAND PROBLEMS COULD SPARK.

REPATRIATION AND CAMP SECURITY

10. TWAGIRAMUNGU DESCRIBED THE EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE
REFUGEE RETURN AS A "CHICKEN AND EGG" SITUATION. HE SAID
CAMP SECURITY WAS OUTSIDE THE GOR'S CONTROL AND STRESSED
THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE REFUGEE RECEIVING STATE. HE
COMPLAINED OF "MINI-STATES" IN ZAIRE AND TANZANIA AND SAID
ZAIRE SHOULD BE ASSURING SECURITY IN THE CAMPS, AS THE
BURUNDI AUTHORITIES WERE DOING IN THE BURUNDI CAMPS. THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE "MINI-STATES" MUST BE DISMANTLED AND
THE EX-FAR SEPARATED FROM THE REFUGEES, BUT NOT THROUGH
"BRUTAL" MEANS. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THE GROUP OUTSIDE
RWANDA MUST BE TAUGHT THAT THE IDEA OF RETURNING BY FORCE
IS JUST NOT REALISTIC.

11. A/S MOOSE SAID WE HAVE ASKED FOR MORE PRECISION FROM
THE SYG AND UNHCR ON THEIR CAMP SECURITY PROPOSALS. IN
OUR VIEW, THERE IS NO PERFECT SOLUTION BUT WE NEED TO TAKE
SOME ACTION TO CHANGE THE DYNAMICS IN THE CAMPS. HE
RAISED THE IDEA OF ASSISTING THE GOZ, IN A RESPONSIBLE
MANNER, OR DEPLOYING POLICE OR CONTRACT GUARD FORCES
PENDING DEPLOYMENT OF A MORE ROBUST UN FORCE. A/S MOOSE
STRESSED THAT, AT THE SAME TIME, THE GOR AND THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY NEED TO WORK ON CREATING THE
NECESSARY CONDITIONS INSIDE RWANDA.

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UNAMIR RADIO

12. DAS BUSHNELL SAID A RECENT USG DS TEAM SENT TO GOMA REPORTED BACK THAT CAMP LEADERS AND MILITIA ARE PREVENTING REFUGEES FROM RETURNING BUT THAT REFUGEES ALSO HAVE A GENUINE FEAR OF RETURNING AND WONDER WHETHER THEY WILL BE

ARRESTED OR SUBJECT TO REPRISALS. THEY HAVE NO GOOD SOURCE OF ACCURATE INFORMATION AND RELY ON RUMORS. OUR TEAM SUPPORTED PLANS FOR UNAMIR RADIO BROADCASTS TO PROVIDE ACCURATE INFORMATION, BUT UNAMIR HAS NOT RECEIVED PERMISSION FROM THE GOR TO BROADCAST. TWAGIRAMUNGU ASSURED DAS BUSHNELL THAT THE GOR WOULD GRANT THIS AUTHORITY TO UNAMIR.

DAS BUSHNELL AND TWAGIRAMUNGU FOLLOW-UP

13. IN A MEETING AT TWAGIRAMUNGU'S HOTEL THE DAY AFTER THE A/S MOOSE MEETING, DAS BUSHNELL AND TWAGIRAMUNGU SPOKE FRANKLY ABOUT THE PROBLEMS AT HAND AND HOW THE U.S. COULD HELP. ONLY RWANDAN CHARGE MUTABOBA AND DESKOFF AISTON WERE PRESENT, WITH MUTABOBA STEPPING OUT NEAR THE END. ALLOWING TWAGIRAMUNGU TO SPEAK EVEN MORE FREELY.

14. DAS BUSHNELL SAID WE UNDERSTAND THAT WE HAVE A ROLE AND A RESPONSIBILITY TO HELP PROVIDE THE GOR WITH THE MEANS TO MEET ITS COMMITMENTS; HOWEVER, THERE WERE SOME WHO DO NOT SEE SIGNS THAT THE GOR IS REALLY SERIOUS ABOUT
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RECONCILIATION AND REPRESENTATIVE, DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THE GOR WOULD STAY WITHIN THE ESSENTIAL FRAMEWORK OF ARUSHA AND THAT HE WAS SINCERE IN HIS OPPOSITION TO DICTATORSHIP. THE IMPORTANT POINT IS THAT THE GOR BE RESPONSIVE TO THE PEOPLE. FOR INSTANCE, HE

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SAID THE FIVE-YEAR TRANSITION PERIOD IS NOT RIGID; THE GOR IS WILLING TO LISTEN TO THE PEOPLE.

15. DAS BUSHNELL ASKED HOW THE U.S. COULD HELP FOSTER A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GOR AND RWANDANS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE RWANDA NOT IMPLICATED IN THE GENOCIDE. TWAGIRAMUNGU ASKED IF THE USG COULD SUGGEST NAMES OF RWANDANS WITH WHOM THE GOR MIGHT ENGAGE IN SUCH A DIALOGUE. DAS BUSHNELL REPLIED THAT IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF INDIVIDUALS; IT'S A QUESTION OF PROCESS AND OF CREATING CONDITIONS THAT WILL ENCOURAGE THESE PEOPLE TO COME FORWARD. SHE SAID WE UNDERSTOOD THERE WERE RWANDANS WITHOUT BLOOD ON THEIR HANDS WHOM THE GOR COULD ENGAGE IN A DIALOGUE, BUT THAT THESE PEOPLE - BOTH IN AND OUTSIDE RWANDA - WERE AFRAID TO COME FORWARD. REPORTS OF DISAPPEARANCES AND REPRISALS WERE A DETERRENT. THOSE INSIDE RWANDA FEARED THE GOR AND RPA; THOSE OUTSIDE FEARED THE FORMER INTERIM GOVERNMENT LEADERS, EX-FAR, AND MILITIAS. TWAGIRAMUNGU REPLIED THAT IT WAS VERY DIFFICULT TO ENGAGE PEOPLE WHO REFUSED TO MAKE THEMSELVES KNOWN.

TWAGIRAMUNGU OPENS UP: [REDACTED]

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16. DAS BUSHNELL STRESSED THAT REFUGEES REALLY WERE AFRAID TO RETURN. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THE GOR HAS ADMITTED
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THERE HAVE BEEN REPRISALS, BUT THAT THE GERSONY REPORT WAS INACCURATE (E.G., MASS GRAVES CITED BY GERSONY THAT TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID DATED TO APRIL/MAY) AND THAT THE GOR HAD MADE EFFORTS TO CONTROL THE SITUATION, SUCH AS SENDING KAGAME AROUND THE COUNTRY TO TALK TO THE FORCES IN THE FIELD. HE SAID THE KAGAME SPEECHES HAD A POSITIVE INFLUENCE, BUT THAT INCIDENTS ARE STILL OCCURRING BECAUSE PEOPLE ARE STILL WORKED UP ("EXCITER"). [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT TIME WILL SOLVE THE PROBLEM.

17. DAS BUSHNELL SAID IT WAS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND HOW THESE REPRISALS WERE HAPPENING WHEN THE RPA WAS REPUTED TO

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HAVE SUCH GOOD DISCIPLINE. AT THIS POINT, MUTABOBA
STEPPED OUT AND TWAGIRAMUNGU OPENED UP CONSIDERABLY AND
BECAME MUCH MORE PESSIMISTIC.

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HE TOLD OF A TUTSI RPA SOLDIER WHO
KILLED PEOPLE THEN BURNED THEIR BODIES SO NO ONE WOULD
KNOW. DAS BUSHNELL SAID THE GOR HAD TO MAKE CLEAR THAT
THIS WAS UNACCEPTABLE AND THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY
KNOWS THAT THIS ACTIVITY IS GOING ON. TWAGIRAMUNGU WAS
OBVIOUSLY DEEPLY CONCERNED AND FRUSTRATED, BUT SAID THAT
HE COULD NOT QUIT, THAT HIS DEPARTURE WOULD HAVE TOO

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SERIOUS A RESULT.

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DESPITE THESE SERIOUS CONCERNS, HE EXPRESSED THE
HOPE THAT "PEOPLE WILL COME BACK TO REASON" AND THAT TIME
WILL SOLVE THE PROBLEM.

19. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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